1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia RR1

patriarchal literature which has to be banned, and no cultural societies which have to be closed down because of bourgeois romanticism. Even so the small peoples of the Far East adhere, just as other peoples do, to their national traditions which are closely linked with those primitive religious beliefs usually summed up under the collective name of 'Shamanism'.

Shamanism is fundamentally the belief in good and bad spirits. The exact nature of the belief varies from one tribe to the other. The spirits may be deified animals, they may be ancestors, or they may simply be the forces of nature. Shamanism is not based on an elaborate ecclesiastical organization, but there are, nevertheless, mediators between spirits and ordinary human beings. These mediators are called Shamans. They enjoy a great deal of respect and prestige in the tribal society and this alone would have been sufficient reason to make them 'Enemy Number One' of the Soviet régime in all National Districts and National Areas inhabited by the Far Eastern aborigines.

The régime has charged the Shamans with many crimes, in particular with being dishonest and with consciously deceiving the people. This accusation has been contradicted by many Russian and foreign anthropologists who have had first hand experience of the Far Eastern Shamans. They have made the point that most Shamans sincerely believe in their superior power and are firmly convinced of their ability to cure the sick and to talk to spirits or to deceased relatives. It does not seem that Shamans charged more than moderate fees for their services if they demanded payment at all.[25] According to P. E. Petri, Professor of Ethnology at the Irkutsk University, it was completely erroneous to suggest that the majority of the Shamans were charlatans exploiting the credulity of the natives. For the Shaman, Petri wrote as late as 1928, his vocation constituted a heavy obligation which the spirits had imposed on him. The Shaman knew respite neither by day nor by night. He might at any time be called out and had then to travel dozens of miles in any weather. The Shaman was rarely at home and his household was therefore neglected. As a rule the Shamans were poor and only those living together with their brothers were better off.[26]

According to official Soviet evidence the Shamans engaged in 'mad resistance' to the extension of Soviet power to the north. They disseminated 'provocative rumours' aimed at inciting the tribesmen against the Russians. These charges against the Shamans are reflected in a number of novels which Soviet writers have written on life in the Far East. For example, Syomushkin's novel, *Alitet goes to the Hills*, records the collective resignation of the chairmen of the tribal Soviets in a part of Chukotka, as the result of the evil influences of one important Shaman. These chairmen gathered one day in the tent of the Russian secretary of the Communist Party and surrendered to him their letters of appoint-

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia RR1

ment. They tried to get rid of these credentials as quickly as possible, because they were believed to be bearers of the evil spirit. The resigning chairmen suggested that the local Shamans should be appointed in their place, as they would be more successful in dealing with the spirits. The Party secretary refused to comply with this request, and, after a great deal of arguing, most of the chairmen agreed to retain their credentials, and to resume their jobs.[25] In the novel, *Where the Sukpai river flows*, by Kimonko, which deals with the life of the Udege people, the Shaman is both anti-Soviet and anti-Russian. He expresses his political philosophy in the following words:—'It is better to be doomed than to go to the Russians. The Russians will make soldiers out of us and destroy us to a man. . . The Russians and the Udege are different people. The man of the forest has laws of his own. One must abide by these laws.'[26]

The Shamans preserved their influence throughout the 'twenties' and early 'thirties'. They played an important part in the resistance movement against collectivization. In fact, the terms 'Shaman' and 'kulak' became interchangeable in the official Soviet vocabulary. But this is the usual simplification with which communist anti-religious propaganda operates. An official Soviet analysis referring to the social origin of 300 Shamans showed that between 50 and 60 of them came from poor families (bednota) and only 5 to 10 per cent were 'kulak elements'. More discriminating Soviet writers have stated therefore that Shamans whilst belonging to various social groups constituted 'a reactionary counter-revolutionary force taking sides with native kulaks and semi-feudal elements'.[27]

In addition to collectivization the Shamans obstructed practically every measure taken by the Government in the economic, cultural and sanitary fields. The target figures of the economic plans could not be fulfilled because the Shamans dissuaded the natives from fishing and hunting on certain days or from killing certain animals, for instance walrus. Soviet newspapers and journals were boycotted because the Shamans agitated against their dissemination. Also the new schools in the Far North and the 'kultbazy'* suffered from the sabotage of the Shamans. The latter persecuted and threatened the lives of Soviet teachers, particularly those of Russian nationality.[28] They hindered the re-education of the northern tribes to a more healthy and hygienic life, and intimidated people to such an extent that they did not dare even to go near a Soviet medical station.[29]

Although there is likely to be substance in most of these charges, they

* The 'kultbazy' or 'Cultural Stations' are political, cultural, and scientific research centres which the Soviet régime organized in the Far North. 'Cultural Stations' usually include a boarding school, a kindergarten, crèches, a hospital, a first-aid post, a veterinary station, a metereological station and even a museum. Most 'Cultural Stations' later developed into townships. Out of the fifteen 'Cultural Stations' three were founded in the Far East, one for the Koryaks, one for the Lamuts and the third for Chukchi and Eskimos.

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia KR1

have probably been exaggerated, partly to serve as an excuse for the inefficiency of Soviet administration and partly as a pretext for the anti-Shaman measures taken by the régime. The fight against the Shamans took the same forms as the campaign against other religions of the Soviet Union, ranging from ordinary anti-religious propaganda to administrative terror. The Far Northern cells of the League of Militant Godless were in charge of the former. In view of the complicated character of Shamanism it was no easy affair to combat it and a more thorough picture of its regional diversities had first to be obtained. The League of Militant Godless therefore urged its northern groups to compile a detailed register of the Shamans which was to answer the following questions about each of them: What is the range of activity of the Shaman? Is he a family Shaman or does a larger group of people avail itself of his services? What speciality does he have? Is he a sea-Shaman accompanying fishermen on their expeditions? Is he a tamer of snowstorms? Does he claim to have any influence on the results of hunting? Is he engaged in healing reindeer and people? What sort of cult objects does he possess? Drums? Costumes? Does he hold collective séances? What is his social origin? Detailed information about these and other points was to be sent at least twice a year to the Central Council of Militant Godless, Moscow, Sretenka Street Nr 10.[30]

It does not seem that the League of Militant Godless had many people on the spot with a sufficient knowledge of folklore and anthropology to carry out the 'registration of the Shamans' and it is more than likely that the whole scheme failed. Other anti-Shaman measures were more successful. For instance, pressure was brought to bear on Shamans to give a solemn pledge that they would renounce their activities. Collective statements of several Shamans were even published in the local Press stating that in the past they had been 'wreckers' and 'cheaters.'[31] In other cases where such self-recriminations could not be obtained, Shamans were expelled from their tribal territory or arrested and put on trial. By arresting Shamans the Soviet authorities wanted to show the people that they did not fear their power and that Shamans were not protected by the spirits.

Notwithstanding all these measures of intimidation and persecution the Shamans were still a fairly important factor at the time of the adoption of the Stalin Constitution of 1936. When the constitution was subject to a nationwide discussion the Shamans once more showed their anti-Soviet bias and they did so again during the elections to the Supreme Soviets of the U.S.S.R. and the R.S.F.S.R. in 1937 and 1939 respectively. According to Oleshchuk, one of the leaders of the League of Godless, the Shamans tried 'to falsify the Soviet Constitution, undermine the elections and exploit the electoral campaign for counter-revolutionary aims.'[32]

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia RR1

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It would appear from Soviet evidence that Shamanism experienced a certain revival during the war. Shamans, it is alleged, cunningly used the temporary absence of young communist educated people from the tribal areas to regain some of their former influence. The novel of the well-known Soviet writer Azhaev, *Far from Moscow*, which refers to conditions in a Nanai village contains, for instance, the following passage: 'He (the Shaman) had lain low for a time but resumed his evil practices when war broke out. He saw his chance to profit from the war by a crafty and insolent device. Many of the Nanai boys of the village had been called to the colours. They wrote letters home from the front, and the Shaman made his "prophecies" by these letters. His clients were mostly old women anxious about the fate of their sons, and he fleeced and fooled them to the top of his bent.'[33]

Soviet novels about post-war conditions in the Far East try to convey the impression that the Shamans have ceased to be figures that are respected and feared. The Shamans of these novels are desperately isolated and universally despised. In one case the Shaman is even an enemy agent whom the Americans have sent from Alaska to provoke 'acts of diversion' among the natives of the Soviet Far East.

Some of the Soviet charges made against the Shamans coincide more or less with the criticism which a Western colonial administrator would direct against the African witch-doctors and juju-men. Western and Soviet administrators will, however, often differ as to the way in which the Shaman and the juju-man are to be fought. In West Africa, though not in East Africa, the fight against the juju-man is no more than a campaign of enlightenment in favour of a more hygienic way of life. In other words it is an aim in itself. The fight against the Shaman in the Soviet Far East and Far North is only a small part of a great struggle which is aimed at crushing every kind of political and religious opposition.

THE FIGHT AGAINST CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

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In the Far East and Far North the régime fights religion on 'two fronts'. If the liquidation of Shamanism is one aim of communist anti-religious policy, the total prevention of Christian missionary activities is another.

Christianity has had a certain influence on the small nationalities of the Far East. Missionaries preaching the faith in a God who loves and helps man, have tried with some success to oust from the hearts of the natives that deep-rooted fear which is accompanied by belief in evil spirits. But the work of the missionaries was far from being finished when the Soviet authorities interrupted it. As it often happens in Africa, the superstitions of paganism survived even where the Church made formal converts. Those Lamuts of Kamchatka, for instance, who accepted the

10: Laufer--361 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia
116, 756, 121

"ORIGIN OF THE WORD SHAMAN

In Chinese Clay Figures (p.198) the writer had occasion to discuss briefly the history of our word shaman, and to refer at the close of his naturally succinct note to the new theory of J. Németh, according to which the term should be an ancient constituent of the Turkish-Tungusian languages. The latter reference was an addition inserted in the proofs at the moment when Mr. Németh's article reached me (summer 1914), but since then it has been possible to scrutinize his theory af close range, with the result that it can be confirmed and even be supported with new data and arguments. As ethnologists may be expected to take an interest in the history of a term which has become part and parcel of anthropological nomenclature, and the origin of which has given rise to numerous discussions and speculations, a brief examination of the case might not be unwelcome to the readers of the Anthropologist."

10: Laufer-- 361 [2] E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia
116, 197, 756

"There could never be a serious doubt of the real source from which the word shaman is derived. We received it from the Russians; it was the Russian (chiefly Cossack) explorers and conquerors of eastern Siberia in the second half of the seventeenth century, who heard and recorded the term among Tungusian tribes. It was first brought to Europe by the Hollander, E. Ysbrants Ides, and by Adam Brand, who from 1692 to 1695 accompanied a Russian embassy sent by Peter the Great to China."

10: Laufer--362-367 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia-1-12
116, 197, 756, 114

" It is thus shown that our 'shaman' had its origin in the Tungusian languages, in all of which the word indeed is known as šaman or saman, and with several other variations to be noted hereafter. It would be reasonable to regard the term as of native origin, for it is not likely that the name of a religious institution and function so characteristic of all the tribes of northern Asia should be borrowed from an outside quarter. Nevertheless it was possible that at a time when little was known about Siberian shamanism, and when rigid philological principles were not yet established, the theory could be advanced that Tungusian saman or saman were to be derived from the Chinese šа-men, itself a transcription of Pali samana corresponding to Sanskrit cramana, a technical term for the designation of a Buddhist monk or ascetic. The germ of this idea was well prepared as early as the eighteenth century. The Augustinian Pater A. Georgi(1) states correctly

1. Alphabetum Tibetanum (Rome, 1762), p. 222.

that the Samanaei mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus(2)are the adherents of Buddha,

2. In fact Clemens avails himself of the form Sarmanai.

and in this connection refers to La Croze, who already hazarded the combination of the

Samanaei with the shamans of the Tungusians (le nom de schaman est un nom de religion d'un peuple tartare, voisin des frontieres de la Chine'). Sanskrit not yet being well known at the time of La Croze and Georgi, the origin of the Greek term Samanaioi escaped them; this is what the philologists of the nineteenth century supplied. (3)

3. Maturin Veyssiere La Croze was born at Nantes in 1661, joined the clergy, suffered persecution on account of his liberal views, fled to Germany, where he turned a Protestant in 1696, and was made a member of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin, where he died in 1739. His work Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, to which Georgi refers, unfortunately is not accessible to me. La Croze was a scholar of wide knowledge and linguistic ability: he was the first who had a presentiment of the relationship of Indian with Persian.

Which of them was the first to assert the connection of the Siberian šaman with the Indian term I am unable to ferret out; this point is immaterial, as the question is merely that of the history of an error. D. Banzarov(4) was inclined, without giving a specific

4. Černaya v'ära, p. 34 (see p. 366).

reference, to fix the responsibility on F. Schlegel, according to whom[363]the çramana among the crude tribes of Central Asia transformed themselves from hermits into shamans. I believe that Banzarov had in mind Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829), romantic poet and Sanskrit scholar, who published in Heidelberg, 1808, an essay under the title Über die Sprache und Weisheit dor Indier, ein Beitrag zur Begründung der Alterthumskunde. (1) This is the only one of his works in which such a statement might be

1. An English translation was edited in London, 1889, in F.v. Schlegel's Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works.

supposed to occur, but on a cursory perusal of this book I am unable to trace it. The idea itself being romantic, there would be no reason to wonder that it took its root in the Romantic School. At all events it was alive in the first part of the nineteenth century. The French sinologue J.-P Abel-Rémusat(1788-1832)became a champion of this theory.(2)

2. Recherches sur les langues tartares (Paris, 1820), p. 133, and Observations sur la doctrine samanéenne et la triade suprême (Paris, 1831).

An ingenious scholar of the type of J. Klaproth (3) was capable of saying, 'Les peuples

3. Mémoires relatifs á l'Asie (Paris, 1828), vol. III, p. 67.

tartares ont sans doute reçu le mot chaman de l'Inde avec le bouddhisme, car il est Indien d'origine, et signifie un homme qui a vaincu toutes ses passions.' In 1857 Max Müller(4)

4. Chips from a German Workshop, vol. I, pp. 233-234.

of Oxford wrote,

> Shamanism found its way from India to Siberia via Tibet, China, and Mongolia. Rules on the formation of magic figures, on the treatment of diseases by charms, on the worship of evil spirits, on the acquisition of the supernatural powers, on charms, incantations, and other branches of Shaman witchcraft, are found in the Tanjur or the second part of the Tibetan canon, and in some of the late Tantras of the Nepalese collection.

Needless to add that the magical writings of the Tanjur are unknown to the shamans of Siberia and have nothing to do with Siberian shamanism. Still less is it intelligible how Müller could say that ' the only trace of the influence of Buddhism among the Chudic races, the Finn, Lapp, etc., is found in the name of their priests and sorcers, the

shamans.' The word shaman is foreign to any Finno-Ugrian language; it found its way into Finnish (shamani) and Hungarian as a scientific term only, in the same [364] manner as into the Indo-European languages. A. H. Sayce (1) has the following;

1. Introduction to the Science of Language, vol. II, p. 293

> In shamanism, so called from the Shaman or Siberian sorcerer, who is himself but a transformed cramana, or Buddhist missionary priest, we rise to a higher conception of religion.
>
> These superstitions were tenaciously upheld under the influence of the romantic movement of the pan-Indianism, which held the minds of scholars enthralled in the first part of the nineteenth century, and the germs of which are not yet entirely exterminated.
>
> True it is that the Sanskrit word cramana with the Prākrit form samana has become widely known outside of the pale of India. It reached the ears of the Greek writers on India, who described the Buddhist monastics under such names as Sarmanes, Sarmanai, or Samanaioi. The first of these names was recorded by Megasthenes, (2) though the

2. Strabo XV, I, 59.

aingle text of Strabo from which all the existing codices have been copied offers the

erroneous transcription Garmanes. (3) The word has also passed into early Arabic

3. The texts in question are easily accessible in J. W. McCrindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, pp. 65, 168, 170. See further C. Lassen, 'De nominibus quibus a veteribus appellantur Indorum philosophi,' in Rhein. Museum für Philol., vol. I, 1833. pp. 178-180, and Indische Alterthumskunde, vol II, p. 700; E. Burnouf, Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme indien, p. 245; T. Watters, Essays on the Chinese Language, p. 403; S. Levi, Journal asiatique (1911), I, p. 445.

records for the designation of the Indian and Bactrian Buddhists (for instance, in Masūdi, Gurdezi, and Abu'l Faradj) in the form samaniyya, while in later literature the form śaman was adopted. (4) In Firdausi's Shāhnāme, completed in A. D. 1010, we

4. Geza Kuun, Keleti Szemle, vol. IV, 1903, p. 133; G. Ferrand, Textes géographiques arabes relatifs à l'Extreme-Orient, vol. I, p. 131. The Mohammedan writers were perfectly conscious of the fact that the term hailed from India and denoted the

Buddhists of India and China. See particularly D. Chwolsohn, Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus (St. Petersburg, 1856) vol. I. pp. 165, 214, 217, etc. As far as I know, the shamanistic religion of Siberian tribes is not mentioned by any early Arabic or Persian author.

find saman in the sense of a worshipper of idols, and this Persian word likewise is traced to Sanskrit çramana and its congeners. (5) Again, it bears no relation to 'our'

5. P. Horn in Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, vol. I, pt. 2, p. 7; K. Vullers (Lexicon persico-latinum, vol. I, p. 466) renders the term by idololatra and idolum.

or the [365] Siberian shaman but evidently refers to Indian Buddhists, for these šamans say 'Our religion is one of peace and quiet, and fighting and slaying is prohibited, as well as all kinds of shedding of blood.' (1) Finally the Indian word has been traced in the

1. Compare the quotation in H. Yule, Hobson-Jobson, P. 820.

newly discovered Indo-European language styled Tokharian in the form samāne; and

this induced A. Meillet to formulate the opinion that the Tokharian form (not a Prakrit form of Sanskrit çramana) would account for the Tungus word saman. (2) With all

2. A. Meillet, 'Le Tokharien,' Indogermanisches Jahrbuch (Strasburg, 1914), vol. I, p. 19.

respect due to the scholarship of this eminent philologist it must be admitted, however, that there is a far cry from Tokharian to Tungusian, that there is no evidence for any contact of these two groups, and that the Tungus notion of a shaman is radically different from the conception of a Buddhist monk. If two words in geographically remote languages are physically alike or similar, but fundamentally diverse in meaning, it is safe to assume that the face resemblance is purely accidental.

Indeed this theory was brilliantly antagonized as early as 1842 by W. Schott, and H. Yule, (3) accepting his verdict, reached the conclusion, 'Whether the Tungus word is

3. Hobson-Jobson, p. 820

in any way connected with this or adopted from it [that is the Sanskrit-Pali term], is a doubtful question. 'Schott has devoted no less than three studies to this

problem (4) in which he endevored to dissociate saman from samana. His arguments

> 4. 'Über den Doppelsinn des Wortes Schamane und über den tungusischen Schamanen-Cultus am Hofe der Mandju-Kaiser,' Abhandlungen Berliner Akademiæ, 1842, pp. 1-8; 'Wohin gehört das Wort Schamane?' in his Altaische Studien, no. 3, ibid., 1867, pp. 138-141; and 'Das Wort Schamane,' in Erman's Archiv fur wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland, vol. XXIII, 1865, pp. 207-210.

are briefly as follows: the Chinese strictly descriminate between Manchu saman (shaman) and Sanskrit çramana, and never confound a shaman and a Buddhist monk, the two having totally diverse functions; a direct or indirect connection of Tungusian tribes with India is unproved; Buddhist missionaries never advanced into regions inhabited by Tungus[5] [366]

> 5. As emphasized in my article 'Burkhan,' Journal American Oriental Society (1917), pp. 390-395, there is no trace of Buddhism in the religion of the Tungusian peoples on the Amur.

it would be strange if they should have borrowed the only word in their language for the designation of their national priests; the forms of shamanism are uniform in a vast

territory extending from Lappland to the Bering Sea and far beyond into America; Vasilyev's hypothesis that shamanism should be a caricature of ancient Buddhist sorcery and jugglery and have been brought into existence by such influences is a mere phantom; the outward resemblance of the words saman and samana is purely fortuitous. Schott's etymological explanations of the word from Samoyed are not convincing, but his remark that Tungusian sam possibly is anciently related to Turkish kam testifies to great foresight and ingenuity; and this thesis, as will be seen, can now really be proved. Also Ch. de Harlez (1) joined the ranks of the adversaries of the Indian hypothesis, reiterating in

1. La Religion nationale des Tartares orientaux (Bruxelles, 1887), p. 28.

the main Schott's arguments. In Russia, it had been severely criticized as far back as 1846 by Dordji Banzarov, a Buryat and an excellent Mongol scholar. (2) Nevertheless

2. His works were collected and edited by Potanin in 1891 under the title Cernaya v'ara ili samanstvo u Mongolov i drugiya stat'i ('The Black Faith or Shamanism among the Mongols and Other Articles'). Regarding the word shaman see p. 34.

in Russian dictionaries also the nightmare of the cramana is perpetuated. (3) As it

3. For instance, in Gor'aev, Sravnitelny etimologiceski slovar' russkago yazyka, p. 418.

happens, twilight reveries appeal more to the multitude than plain reason and continue to live even if abandoned by the thinking minority; it is not always the best and fittest that survives. The ghost of the Indian çramana still haunts the poor shaman in our standard dictionaries and cyclopaedias (see Webster, Nouveau Larousse, and Littre, Dictionnaire de la langue française; Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia, vol. X, p. 385; Funk and Wagnalls' Dictionary offers even a 'Persian-Hindustani shaman, pagan'!) (4) It is a relief, therefore, to read in the new Oxford Dictionary,

4. Even in the 7th edition of O. Pexchel's Völkerkunde (p. 274) the cramana still holds way.

The Persian shemen, idol, idol temple, sometimes cited as the source, is unconnected. Evidence seems to be wanting for the plausible suggestion that the Mongolian word is an adoption of Chinese sha men, an ordained member of a Buddhist fraternity.

10: Laufer--362-367 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia-12
116, 197, 756, 114

Eliminating 'plausible' and substituting 'Tungusian' for [367] 'Mongolian' this statement marks a progress in lexicographical literature. So there is hope that our great-grandchildren will perhaps be treated to a correct definition in the dictionaries of the following century."

10: Laufer--367-368 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia-1-4
116, 114, 171, 197, 756

"The Hungarian scholar J. Németh (1) has attacked the problem in the right spirit,

1. 'Über den Ursprung des Wortes Šaman und einige Bemerkungen zur türkischmongolischen Lautgeschichte,' Keleti Szemle, vol. XIV, 1913-14, pp. 240-249.

and ably solved it by means of a sane philological method. A schooled phonetician, he has successfully worked for several years on the phonetic history of the Turkish and Mongol languages and established very interesting correspondences of phonetic phenomena in these two linguistic families. In the study cited he advances the law that primeval Turkish initial k' (palatalized k) has developed into Tartar k, Čuva j, Yakut x (spirant surd as in German ach), Mongol ts, č, and Manchu-Tungusian s, ś, or š. He gives seven examples to this effect, the first of which is:

Turkish (Uigur and in the dialects of southern Siberia) kam or anciently qam (shaman), in some dialects kŭär, dum (with such derivations as kamdi, to prophesy; kamla, to heal; kamna, to shamanize; etc.). Čuvaš jum, jumeś (shaman); im-jum (durative charms). Manchu saman, Golde sama, š'ama, Olča šam, Oročon šama, Tungus on the middle Amur saman, Tungus of Udsk saman and šaman, Kondogir and Wilui Tungus xaman.

10: Laufer--367-368 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia-2
116, 114, 171, 197, 756

Németh concludes that the origin of the much disputed word 'shaman' is thus definitely solved, and that it is an ancient property of the Turkish-Mongol languages. The phonetic alternation determined by him is perfectly correct and Manchu-Tungusian sam, s'am, or šam (2) is indeed the exact phonetic equivalent of Turkish kam. (3) Apart

2. This in fact is the stem of the word, not as formerly believed by some scholars, sa-, which was explained from Manchu sa- (to know). Németh justly rejects this derivation. By the way, 'Schott,' the father of this etymology, disavowed it himself in his second treatise on the word shaman, quoted above. D. Banzarov (l.c., p. 35) justly recognized sam as the stem.

3. It was hitherto believed that the word for shaman was different in all languages of Siberia, while there is a fairly uniform designation for the female shaman (udagān, utygan, ubakxan, etc.). Hence V. F. Troščanski (Evolutsiya černoi v'ary [šamanstva] u Yakutov - 'Evolution of the Black Faith among the Yakut,' Kazan, 1902, p. 118) was prompted to the theory that the Siberian tribes originally had only female shamans, and after the time of their separation instituted also male shamans. This reconstruction is contestable on many grounds; for instance, we have male and

> female shamans . [368] co-existent in the most ancient days of China. The supposition on which the conclusion is based is now no longer valid: the word for the male shaman is in fact identical throughout from the Turkish to the Tungusian and Gilyak tribes.

from the Tungusian series noted by Németh [368] after Grube's Goldisches Wörterverziechnis, several other forms of the word have become known. De la Brunière (1)

> 1. In H. E. M. James, The Long White Mountain or a Journey in Manchuria (London, 1888), pp. 433, 434

recorded it in 1846 among the Golde as tsama or tsamo. I heard only s'ama from the Golde, in the same manner as Shimkevič, (2) but in view of the existence of several

> 2. Materialy dl'a izučeniya šamanstva u Goldov. p. 8.

Golde dialects such a form many be regarded as possible. A Rudnev (3) noted from a

> 3. Novyia dannyia po živoi mandžurskoi r'äči i šamanstru (New Data

on the Live Manchu Speech and Shamanism), p. 9.

Manchu, who was still conversant with his mother tongue, the following: sáma, sáman, sáma (nasalized a), and sāmăn.

The Gilyak style the shaman čam (tšam). This certainly is a loan-word received from Tungusian, (4) but it is not necessary to assume that the change of the initial š

> 4. There is no doubt that the shamanism of the Gilyak is derived from and a weak echo of that of the neighboring Amur tribes. There are but a few shamans among the Gilyak, and shamanizing is rarely practised by them (see for the present L. von Schrenck, Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande, vol. III, p. 752).

or s into the palatal explosive surd is due to the Gilyak; for this alternation is common within Tungusian, so that a Tungusian čam borrowed by the Gilyak may be presupposed for some Tungusian dialect spoken in the neighborhood of the Gilyak. Compare the following examples: Manchu nesuken and nečin (equal)--Jučen nušin; Manchu ničuxe (pearl)--Old Jučen inšuko or inšuxa, modern Jučen ninčuxe; or vice versâ, Jučen ančun (gold)--Manchu aisin."

10: Laufer--368-370 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia-1-5
116, 114, 177, 197, 756

"It has been said that the word šaman is found only in the eastern part of Siberia and in Manchuria. There is, however, one well-authenticated instance on record to the effect that it was known also in northwestern Siberia. In the earliest account that we have of the Irtysh-Ostyak, written in 1715 by G. Novitski, their priests were styled šamančik.(5)

5. B. Munkácsi, Keleti Szemle, vol. IV, 1903, p. 88.

In view of the early date of this record we cannot well assume that this is a loan-word recieved through intercourse with the Russians. Whether the term still exists I [369] am unable to say from the sources at my disposal. S. Patkanow (1) gives for the

1. Die Irtysch-Ostjaken, pt. I, p. 120.

shamans of the Ostyak only the name tonx-ort. (2)

2. Consulting Castrén's vocabulary in his Versuch einer ostjakischen Sprachlehre I find that tonx means idol, and ort, workman, slave. If accordingly tonx-ort should mean servant of the idols, the term might hardly be claimed as a primeval designation of the shaman.

10: Laufer--368-370 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia-2
116, 114, 177, 197, 756

The Turkish word kam is of ancient date(3)It is attested (and this is its earliest occur-

3. The Russians have derived from it the verb kamlat' (to shamanize, to conjure, to spell, to prophesy) and the noun kamlanie (the act of shamanizing).

rence) in the Chinese Annals of the T'ang dynasty (618-906), where it said with respect to the Kirgiz(4) that they designate their sorcerers or shamans (Chinese wu) with the word

4. Regarding this name and its ancient Chinese transcriptions see Pelliot and Laufer, T'oung Pao, 1916, p. 295.

kam. The last character now reads kan, but was anciently possessed of a final labial nasal, which is still preserved in the dialects of southern China. Chinese wu is a very ancient term for the native medecine-men.(5) The word kam, further, is found in Uigur(6)

5. Regarding their activity see Chinese Clay Figures, pp. 109-200.

6. In the Kudatku Bilik, written in A. D. 1068 (H. Vámbéry, Uigurische Sprachmonumente, p. 221).

and in the Codex cumanicus of 1303. (7) It is also used by the Persian historian Rashid-

7. W. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, vol. II, p. 67. Nemeth overlooked these data but it is important to note the wide distribution of the word in time and space.

eddin (1247-1318) in 1302, with reference to the shamans of the Mongols. (8) The existence

8. F. Von Erdmann, Temudschin, p. 553, E. Blochet, Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols de Rashid Ed-Din, p. 165.

of the Tungusian word šaman can now be traced to the first part of the twelth century, for Pelliot (9) has found it as a Jučen word in a Chinese gloss, where it is transcribed in the

9. Journal asiatique, 1913, mars-avril, pp. 466-469.

form šan-man and explained as a sorceress. The Chinese transliteration would presuppose Jučen form šamman. Indeed we still meet forms with double m in the dialect of the Wilui Tungus, --samman and xamman. (10) The latter with initial spirant represents the

10. Recorded by R. Maack, Wil'uski okrug (The District of Wilui), pt. 3, p. 116.

missing link between Turkish kam (in the language of the Soyot or Urangkhai xam) and the Tungusian forms with initial sibilant. The [370] alternation of k and x is well known, (1) likewise x, h, and s, alternate in Tungusian dialects. (2) For this reason

1. W. Radloff, Phonetik der nördlichen Türksprachen, p. 108.

2. A. Schiefner, Melanges asiatiques, vol VII, 1877, pp. 338-339.

it is justifiable to correlate the forms kam and xam with Yakut xammā, xamsā (to move, to be agitated; xām, to step, to stride), (3) and to interpret the significance of the word

3. O. Böhthingk, Jakutisches Wörterbuch, P. 79.

from the shaman's peculiar behavior, his solemn and pompous pacing, his ecstacy, his convulsions, his frantic leaps and dancing. (4)

4. This explanation was first given by V. F. Troščanski, Evolutsiya černoi v'äry (šamanstva) u Yakutov (Evolution of the Black Faith among the Yakut),

(Kazan, 1902), p. 117. D. Banzarov (Černaya v'ära, p. 35) held a similar view, but arrived at it through a different process by connecting the word with Manchu samarambi and Mongol samoromoi, samagu; aside from the fact, however, that these words do not have the meaning required, or forced into them by Banzarov, they can by no means be reduced to the stem sam. --Kam is not a Yakut word for the shaman, as wrongly stated by A. van Gennep ('De l'emploi du mot "chamanisme,"' Revue de l'histoire des religions, vol. 47, 1903, p. 52, the Yakut term is oyun."

10: Laufer--370-371 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia-1-3
116, 114, 197, 756

"Németh gives no form of the word for Mongol, and explains the absence of a corresponding word in this language through a characteristic trait of the Mongols to whom the use of many words was tabooed; owing to such a taboo, the word šaman should have been lost. This is an arbitrary, far-fetched, and unnecessary theory. First of all, the word šaman does occur in Mongol, at least it is listed as a Mongol word in Kovalevski's and Golstunski's Mongol dictionaries. Whether it is frequent is another question. I never found it in a Mongol text. This is accounted for by the fact that the common term for a shaman in Mongol is büga, bögä, Buryat buge and bö, corresponding to Turkish bögü, Djagatai bügi (sorcery), bügiči (sorcerer), Osmanli büi (sorcery).(5)

5. According to I. J. Schmidt (Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen, St. Petersburg, 1826, p. 416), kami should be the Mongol name of the shamans. It would hardly be necessary to point out this blunder, had it not been immortalized in Yule's Hobson-Jobson (p. 820). There is no Mongol word kami with such a meaning. Schmidt found it in the Mongol chronicle of Sanang Setsen as the proper name of a Tibetan Bon-po, and this name reads correctly Khami or Xami. Schmidt's interpretation, evidently suggested by Turkish kam, is baseless and purely imaginary.

This series seems to bear some kind of relation to Chinese bu, wu (shaman), buk, puk (to divine), and Tibetan aba (pronounced ba, sorcerer); (6) but how [371] this

6. Compare my concordance in Toung Pao, 1916, p. 68.

relation is to be explained is beyond our present knowledge. The type kam--sam is possibly preserved in Mongol in a somewhat disguised form. According to the phonetic law established by Németh, the Mongol initial corresponding to Turkish k and Tungusian s should be ts, č. Thus we get at Mongol tsam, čam, that means a dance, and at present refers in particular to the religious pantomimic dance-performances of the Lamas in which, as is well known, many ancient shamanistic notions and rites of pre-Buddhistic times have survived. The same word in the same sense is encountered in Tibetan as č'am or ts'am (written ač'am), and it would be justifiable to regard the Mongol as a loan-word adopted from Tibetan; (1) but considering the fact that the

1. In a forthcoming study on Loan-Words in Tibetan, where an almost complete list of Mongol loan-words occurring in Tibetan is given, the writer has set forth the difficulties in recognizing the mutual loan-words

> of the two languages. Mongol and Tibetan have a certain number of words in common, partially due to a prehistoric contact, partially due to allively intellectual interchange in historical periods; and it is not always possible to decide in each and every case which side is the recipient, and which the borrower.

word is isolated (that is, not found in any other Indo-Chinese language), it is likewise permissible to stamp the Tibetan as a Mongol loan. For the rest, I give with all reserve this theory of a possible connection of Mongol tsam with Turkish-Tungusian kam--sam (religious dancer).

At any rate it is obvious that the word šaman has now legitimately secured an absolute and irrevocable decree of divorce from its pseudo-mate śramana, samana, or ša-men, and that this mismated couple cannot live together any longer. Tungusian saman, šaman, xaman, etc., Mongol šaman, Turkish kam and xam, are close and inseparable allies grown and nourished on the soil of northern Asia, --live witnesses for the great antiquity of the shamanistic form of religion."